1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

should be ascribed to the general wetness of the season rather than to these storms alone. A general picture of the damage can be obtained from the local press (24) but certain aspects, of interest to the hydrologist and agriculturalist alike, are worthy of elaboration here. The notes which follow are based largely on the experiences of the farmers themselves. 132*

There are some ways, perhaps, in which storms such as those of 11th-13th October, 1957, may be beneficial, in filling the rock-cut cisterns, in clearing debris from wied channels, in removing accumulated salts from irrigated land and in transporting soil from karstland on to the terraces below, but such benefits, affecting relatively few farmers, would be more than offset by damage to the crops and lands of a far greater number. 132* 241 731

Several types of damage can occur in times of torrential rain. Plants are damaged by direct impact, walls weakened by saturation of soil between the stones, clay masses slide downhill. Run-off causes sheet and gully erosion of the soil, washes away dams, walls and roadways and removes growing plants from the ground. In valley floors and low-lying areas, dams are silted up and water courses overflow to flood the more level land.

Fortunately, there were few standing crops to be damaged. The small part of the grape crop remaining to be picked was completely destroyed but cauliflowers and tomatoes were little affected. In many cases, however, sulla seed which had germinated was washed away and October was too late for re-planting. In some cases, vetches were sown as a replacement crop but, where the soil remained so wet as to prevent later ploughing, no crop could be raised until the following winter. Some farmers made fortuitous gains: one, near Kirkop, harvested more than nine hmiel of sulla from a vine field on to which seed had been washed. In the Wied tal-Pwales, melons, stored in the open were washed out to sea.

Farmers with flat land draining a large catchment area suffered severely from flooding. Very late tomatoes, grown to exploit improved marketing conditions, together with much of the autumn-sown potato crop were lost or severely damaged. This was particularly the case in Bur Marrad, where floodwaters stood for several weeks, and in the Wied tal-Pwales. Violent run-off caused extensive damage in several areas, despite the traditional careful terracing of steep slopes. Though sheet erosion in places removed an inch or more of the topsoil, the greatest damage was caused by gullying. Figure 17 illustrates one such case. The group of fields shown here lies on a natural terrace formed by the Upper Globigerina overlain with Blue Clay, above St. Paul's Bay. The damage to these fields is a product of the rain falling within them, since they stand on a spur and were not affected by run-off from higher areas. Similar damage occurred in other sample areas of steep slopes, clay soils and maximum storm rainfall; at Mgarr, Rabat and Wied ta'l-Isqof. Fields lying in the path of storm drainage suffered damage of a different type as shown in Fig. 18. Retaining walls built across a valley floor were swept away owing to the absence of any sort of drainage channel. Similar instances were noted at Mellieha, Mgarr, St. Paul's Bay and Mqabba.

The worst damage naturally occurred in areas where steep slopes coincided with maximum rainfall intensity, i.e. in north and west Malta. Four hundred farmers submitted damage claims, of which 262 were accepted as warranting financial assistance. The latter group included 10 per cent of all registered farmers in the parishes of Mell'eha, Mgarr, St. Paul's Bay and Rabat and just under 5 per cent. in Mosta and Gharghur. Damage in other parishes was not considered sufficient to merit assistance.

It would appear that, in many parts of the Islands, a day's rain amounting to 3 inches is almost certain to lead to damage of the kinds indicated and since such rainfall occurs, in one area or another, at least once in every five years, more efficient drainage would appear desirable. There are, however, several conflicting factors to be taken into account. In drier years, the farmer wishes to limit drainage so as to obtain maximum soil moisture at the beginning of the dry season, while the hydrologist wishes to encourage percolation into subterranean aquifers (see p. 42). At the same time, valley floors, where damage is 132* 311

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.69]

*132
131
141
134

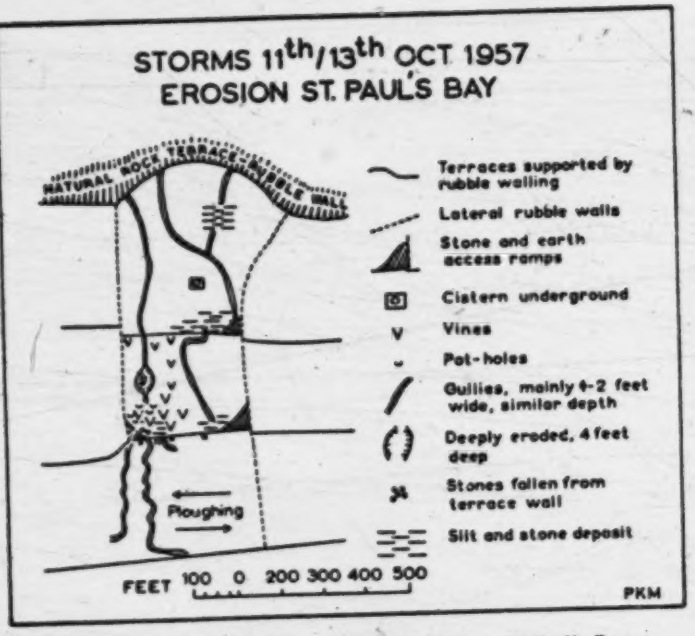

Fig. 17 Storms of 11th/13th Oct. 1957, Erosion, St. Paul's Bay.

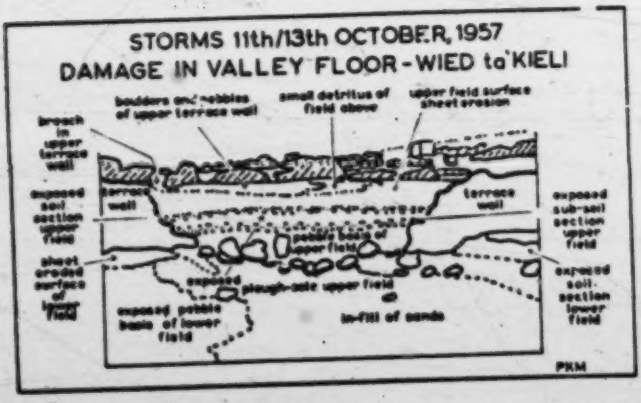

Fig. 18 Storms of 11th/13th Oct. 1957, Damage in Valley Floor, Wied ta' Kieli.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

In addition to the sums which the parish priest spent on fireworks, another £472 was collected by six groups of enthusiasts and spent on raw materials for the fireworks which they manufactured. The total cost to the village was thus £1,212. In all respects this was an average festa for a village of 5,000.

The festa in Kortin has not always been controlled by the parish priest. Dun Bert, the present incumbent, had something of a struggle to seize and hold the reins of authority. Until he took over the parish eight years ago the external festa had been run by a committee. Though the parish priest was *ex officio* head of this committee, the actual affairs of the committee were run by old Manwel and the father of the curate, who was general manager of the festa for over thirty years. The committee also included the latter's wife's father and brother in its membership. His brother was killed twenty-five years ago in an explosion which wrecked the village's officially licensed firework factory and killed four others. This committee used to book the bands, repaint, erect and store the decorations and collect all the funds for the external feast. One of its major responsibilities was to run the two large fund-raising fairs which were held every year in the school. Next to the festa, these fairs were the favourite amusement of the village. Thus when Dun Bert arrived in Kortin, he found his was only a nominal role as far as the external festa was concerned. As he is a man who likes to run things his own way, the arrangement did not suit him. Moreover, he was concerned with the financial position of the parish, and in particular with the interest on the £3,000 that his predecessor had borrowed from the Curia to help finance the unfinished parish hall. To be able to meet all the parish's financial commitments, he felt that he had to have control of all its financial resources. The first year, however, he did very little about it.

During his second year in Kortin, the newly elected Labour Government came to his assistance, albeit unwittingly. The new Minister of Education refused permission to the organizers of the Kortin festa to hold a public fair in the school. This deprived the organizers of their major source of income, and threatened the festa. Dun Bert quickly took over the financial management of the festa and made two house-to-house collections. These raised the necessary funds and saved the festa. He then gave to the Sodality of Our Lady the responsibility of collecting threepence a week from each household. But for six months of the year these

4: Cassar P-4, 5 (no date) 1964 EZ6 Malta EZ6

body include faces, eyes, ears, upper limbs, hands, trunks, female breasts, hearts, thighs, legs, and feet (Plate 1, Fig. 1). Although they show no deformities and no pathology they indicate the part affected by illness and healed by divine intercession. Thus 'legs were offered for paralysis, congenital anomalies and chronic ulcers in the lower limbs; 'arms' and 'hands' for fractures and threatened loss of fingers by injury or gangrene; 'ears' for deafness and otitis; and 'eyes' for a variety of ocular diseases. Sometimes, however, the association of illness and anatomical part is not so specific; thus 'trunks' were offered for such varied conditions as throat affections, hernias, and mental disorder; 'faces' for enlarged glands in the neck; and pairs of female 'breasts' for deficiency of milk in a lactating mother as well as disease of these organs.

They were made of wax or of raised work in gold and silver foil. Those met with at present are the silver ones, the others having disappeared from the churches though they were still being offered at the end of the last century if not later. There are records of wax effigies of arms, legs, eyes, and babies and also of gold ones having been deposited at that period at Ta Pinu Church at Gharb in Gozo. A pair of gold legs cost £17 (*Id-devot ta Maria* 1890; Kerr 1893). Wax figures also existed until some thirty years ago in the small church of Tal Mirakli at Lija (Tanti 1962). These objects were manufactured in Malta but some of them were imported from Sicily and North Africa. The gold and silver foil was hammered into the desired shape over dies of bronze by a silversmith (Plate 1, Fig. 3). They vary in size from 6 by 2½ inches to 1 by 3½ inches. Some of them bear hall-marks which help to date them and identify the source of manufacture. The earliest met so far by the writer is a stylized silver model (in the writer's collection) of a pair of female breasts impressed with the hall-marks of the Grand Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, Em. de Rohan who ruled over the Maltese Islands from 1775 to 1797.

The deposition of anatomical 'ex-votos' in Maltese churches ceased in 1935. The ecclesiastical council held in that year in Malta under the presidency of Cardinal H. Lepicier disallowed the exhibition of 'votive offerings showing parts of the human body except those in the shape of a heart', (*Concilium*, 1935, p. 60), so that the present-day visitor will hardly see anything else except 'hearts' hanging by the statues of the saints to whom they were offered by grateful devotees. The more 'profane' models have been melted and converted into sacred utensils for the church service.

Very occasionally instead of an anatomical representation, we come across a silver tablet commemorating deliverance from illness. Here is a specimen inscribed in Latin:

P. Trapani cum suis / A. MDCCCLXXXVII / Ab Asiana Lue / Incolumos (*Id-devot ta Maria*, 1888).

that is P. Trapani and his family spared from the Asiatic Disease of the year 1887.

(The Asiatic Disease was cholera of which Malta had seven outbreaks during the last century. The 1887 epidemic lasted three and a half months and had a mortality of over 50 per cent.)

Quite often the making of a vow was accompanied by the recitation of prayers and by touching the diseased part with some object associated with the healing saint. These actions include the smearing of the part, in the form of a cross, with oil obtained from the sanctuary lamp; touching the part with a sacred image or medal; sipping water in which rose-petals from the altar, dedicated to the saint or Virgin, had been immersed;

5: Cremona B-3, 4 (no date) 1923
EZ6 Malta EZ6

In some districts doors or knockers are draped with black crape.

(*d*) The lowering of window blinds for some months. Some people, who follow old customs, replace all window curtains by linen sheets.

(*e*) The hiring of poor women and beggars to pray over and watch the corpse for the whole night. This custom prevails mostly in Gozo. In old days official female mourners, named *neūūieha* (from *neūūah*, "to cry") were employed. The practice was abolished in Malta during the plague of A.D. 1676.[1] Sicilians employed mourners called Praeficae or Reputatrices, a custom of Greek and Roman origin and practised by the Irish until A.D. 1849. It still prevails among the Corsicans and the Sahara tribes of Algeria. The old ceremonial of the Maltese female mourners is described by Abela as follows :—

They wore trailing veils (*kurkār*), and when they entered the premises of the deceased they cut down the bower vines in the yard and threw the flower pots from the balconies and windows into the street. They searched the house for the finest piece of china, dashed it on the floor, and mixed the fragments with ashes from the hearth. They boiled the whole together in a pot, and with the mixture washed the door posts and window shutters of the house. During these proceedings they sang couplets which ended in long-drawn sighs and lamentations. Then they gathered round the corpse and knelt down, extolling the virtues of the deceased, the relations joining in their mourning.

(*f*) An oil lamp is often lit and left for forty days before the Crucifix or image of the Madonna in the death chamber. This is supposed to please the soul of the departed, whose ghost is in this way prevented from haunting the house. In some of the Gozo villages the persons attending the corpse to the burial-ground return in procession after the funeral mass to the room of the deceased, where they kneel down and say the rosary before the Crucifix, placed on a chest covered with white cloth, and between two lighted candles which are afterwards replaced by the devotional oil lamps. The belief still lingers that the

[1] Abela and Ciantar, *Malta Illustrata*, vol. ii. p. 794.

234 (i) the grazing mentioned,
(ii) cultivation of fodder crops,
221 (iii) tasks connected with the animals such as collecting
461 milk receipts from the M.M.U., cleaning, building and repairing accommodation for the animals, taking animals for slaughter or caring for them if sick.

And this emphasis is even more strongly seen among the increasing number of dairy farmers in Malta relying on cows rather than goats, as a result of current guaranteed milk sales.

The essential difference between herdsman and field-tiller is, thus, that animals require constant attention throughout the year and demand a much more rigid daily schedule. In (3), care of the animals directly or indirectly takes the greater part of every working day.

22 The annual calendar of activities reflects the way in
24 which the farmer's life and work are bound up with the
178 elements which govern his environment. The storm damage of
181 late, 1957, a serious economic set-back, was regarded
[731] fatalistically by the farmer. As soon as possible the normal routine of work was resumed and losses accepted with a great deal of talk but little action. The differences between the annual farming calendar of 1849 and that of today, illustrated by the above three examples, have included the extension of one crop at the expense of another. But even the reasons for such basic changes as the replacement of cotton by potatoes were not understood by the farmer. Cotton, for example, had become so firmly entrenched that only in face of impoverishment was it relinquished. The illiterate farmer suspects any innovation with which he is not familiar on the principle of "Better the evil you know than that you know not". He lives in a world where he sees himself fighting against forces over which he has no control. These include the climate, the Maltese economy, foreign trade conditions and, particularly, "them" - otherwise "Il-Gvern" or the Government and officialdom in general. He is also competing with his fellow farmers, but with the ways and wiles of these he is better acquainted.

24 This whole question of mental 'attitudes' to external
46 factors is held to be crucial in a study of illiterate
178 or recently-illiterate farming folk and is given further
181 consideration (Section 4). Suffice it at this stage to emphasize its importance in understanding the apparently illogical or irrational element which creeps into such a basic part of farming as the use of time. This becomes clear when a detailed cost-accounting of man/hours against productivity is made. Much of the work done is uneconomic in the sense that a great amount of time is spent with no

175 458 511 [464] [184] between the unskilled labourer and the skilled. This dichotomy was a regular feature during the nineteenth century, as in the twentieth, and is to be distinguished from the rise and fall of prosperity and depression which characterized the totality of economic life in Malta. Malta was highly susceptible to events in the Mediterranean basin and in Europe as a whole and was much affected by changes in trading patterns and in strategy, so that the fortunes of the Maltese fluctuated with the alternation of prosperity and depression during the nineteenth century. [731] The sequence of wars, trade booms and slumps, droughts, epidemics and other events which affected the Mediterranean in general was particularly strongly felt in vulnerable Malta (B/556).

175 184 511 178 The major economic developments arising from the growth of the dockyard and the consolidation of the Islands' role have been outlined in Section 1. The various stages in this expansion were reflected in the economic life and the living standards of the Maltese just as the chain of external events made their presence felt. In all this the fortunes of one section of the population, such as the farming community, could at no time stand unaffected by fluctuations within the economy of the Islands as a whole.

175 178 [184] [871] Malta remained sharply divided within itself by class, district and education and the parallel differences of living standards between one section of society and another were continued. But the later decades of the nineteenth century saw, on the social as distinct from the economic plane, the beginnings of general education which, during the present century, was to remove the illiteracy which had for so long prevented the rural classes in Malta and Gozo from having any experience of life and society outside the limits of the village. [184] [369] Improvements in transport and communication within the Islands and the spread of amenities from the Urban area to the villages in the later nineteenth and in the twentieth centuries further tended to remove the veil of isolation which had shrouded the villages of Malta and Gozo and kept them cut off from the social and cultural [621] changes of the towns. Traditionally, each village had been a closely-knit unit under a Parish priest, having little contact with Valletta and perhaps less with the villages in other parts of the Islands (Section 1).

In the later decades of the nineteenth century the forces indicated were beginning to modify the position but it was not until the present century and particularly

the money being repaid." Niklaws observes that "Farming depends on nature" and he points to the storms of late 1957 as an example of the way in which the farmer may suffer irreparable and unexpected loss. On this occasion standing crops, soil and field walls were washed away and the whole planting and sowing cycle interrupted.

The brothers also complain of the present marketing regime which, they claim, militates unfairly against the producing farmer. "There is no guaranteed market for field crops sold and there are too many middlemen taking too large a cut." The brothers cling to the typical idea in Maltese farming that the 'Government ought to guarantee sales of field-produce in the same way that milk sales are guaranteed'. They have little appreciation of ruling market conditions outside Malta. Niklaws says that the labour of the brothers is not considered as a cost - "if it were there would be no money left". They appear to have been in the habit of employing labour for many years and today have a full-time cow-hand. Only one of the brothers is married. Four of the brothers have therefore only themselves to support on their share in the income from this well-organized and apparently remunerative partnership, situated in one of the best dry-farming regions of Malta.

CASE VIII : Summary.

(Working partnership of five brothers with diversified production.)

A. Land.

c.70 tmien of unirrigated land in Żebbuġ Region. 16 field plots in 11 parcels in a linear arrangement extending over 2½ miles in the Żebbuġ and Wied tal-Isqof areas. All land lies in one of the best dry-farming regions of Malta on good marled Xero-rendzina and Carbonate Raw Soils.

B. Utilisation. (i) Typical arrangement.

		Winter	Summer
Plot 1.	8½ tmien	Potatoes & Wheat	Tomatoes & Cauliflower
Plot 2.	1 tmien	Potatoes	Cattle exercise yard
Plot 3.	1½ tmien	Onions, Potatoes, Vines.	Legumes & Vines
Plot 4.	3 tmien	Potatoes & Vegetables.	Cauliflowers & Vegetables.
Plot 5.	2½ tmien	Sulla & Barley	Tomatoes
Plot 6.	1½ tmien	Cereals, Cauliflowers & Tomatoes	
Plot 7.	2 tmien	Wheat, Cauliflowers & Tomatoes	
Plot 8.	7½ tmien	Sulla	Cauliflowers & Tomatoes
		Cauliflowers, Wheat & Tomatoes	
Plot 9.	2 tmien	Vines	
Plot 10.	2½ tmien	Potatoes	Tomatoes & Cauliflower
Plot 11.	21 tmien	Vines (3½ tmien)	
		Barley	Sulla, Tomatoes
		Vetches	Fallow
Plot 12.	2½ tmien	Potatoes	Sulla
Plot 13.	1½ tmien	Wheat	Sulla, Vetches
Plot 14.	2½ tmien	Fallow, Melons, Tomatoes & Cauliflower	
Plot 15.	5½ tmien	Citrus Orchard	
		Tomatoes	
Plot 16.	1½ tmien	Cauliflower	Tomatoes

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

796 174 [731] Abela, in his "History of Malta" says: that it was instituted as a vow to St. Gregory, to whose intercession the Maltese had recourse in 1519, when the Island was visited by an epidemic disease.

Ciantar, the celebrated Historian, assures us, however, that the procession was instituted in 1400 long before the epidemic mentioned by Abela.

[648] Others again say: that it was held about the year 1429 whilst the Island was being besieged by some 18000 Moors, but this could not possibly be the case in as much as the people who were besieged within the walls of the town could not join in the cry "Misericordia" at Zeitun.

[731] Again some say that the procession took place for the first time in Malta in thanksgiving to the Almighty after

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the deliverance from a large swarm of locusts that once caused a dreadful havoc in the Island. 796 174 [731].

Monsignor Duzina, the Apostolic Visitor, who visited Malta in February 1575, having found that the origin of this procession was involved in great obscurity, caused the most aged men of the Island to be brought before him, and on asking them about the origin of the institution of this general procession, he was informed that the tradition was "That the procession was founded by a general vow of the Maltese after their deliverance from the Turks, whose fleet was dispersed by a terrible storm at Marsascirocco,(*) just when the Moslems were on the point 796 174 782 648

(*) This is probably the reason that the general procession goes to the churches of St. Catherine and St. Gregory, those being the nearest churches to Marsascirocco.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

silk and lama cloth of gold, are distributed, all the crowds disperse and the victorious champions, loaded with honours and caresses, and covered with garlands of flowers and ribbons, are conducted in triumph through the streets of the town amidst the deafening cheers and acclamations of the populace.

These races were instituted in 1593 during the reign of Grand Master Verdala, as popular rejoicings after that the plague, which was introduced in Malta through the carelessness of some of the authorities, had played great havoc for eighteen months amongst the inhabitants of the Island.

From this race all the other races which are held on different occasions during the year, both in Malta and in Gozo, owe their origin.

735

735 POVERTY--prevalence and definition of poverty; causes (e.g., low income, unemployment, sickness, alcoholism, improvidence, indolence); social attitudes toward poverty; begging and beggars; poor relief (e.g., almsgiving, private charity, public relief); special institutions for the poor (e.g., almshouses); support of institutions (e.g., municipal, ecclesiastical, private endowment); etc. See also:

Social stratification 56
Social insurance, public assistance, and private welfare agencies 74
Laziness 461
Wages 465
Housing 362
Gift giving 431
Income 434
Standards and levels of living 511

5: Cremona β-3, 4 (no date) 1923
EZ6 Malta EZ6

The belief still lingers that the
764 lamp must remain lighted for forty days, during which the soul
765 of the departed remains above the flame.

764 (g) Some families give the poor bread. The love-feasts of
735 the primitive Christians were in mediaeval times replaced in
171 both Malta and Sicily by the distribution of cakes and of boiled wheat mixed with sesame. Distributions of meat and bread to the poor came also to be a custom at some *festas*, but were continued in Sicily mainly by the giving of beans and bread on All Souls' Day.[1] In Malta on that day, however, the old custom has been replaced by the free kitchens or the "Potage for the Poor" (*Borma tal-Fqâr*).

765 Mourning customs in Malta have during the last century
178 passed through wide changes and, as in other European coun-
[177] tries, have reverted to a more simple type. Some are purely
[192] mediaeval, and are influenced by the prolonged intercourse with Sicily and Italy during the rule of the Grand Masters. The vernacular term for mourning is *vistu*, corresponding to the Sicilian *visitusu* ("to be in mourning").

765 The wearing of special mourning clothes was general in the
292 fourteenth century, but became less marked by the year 1700.
178 Women used to wear woollen trailing skirts and dark shawls
184 over their heads. Some better-class people wore one black transparent veil over the head and another veil of black silk taffeta over the gown, reaching to the waist. A sort of Majorca woollen cloth is prescribed for mourning wear to the heirs under a will of A.D. 1543. The Grand Master's suite wore a special garment called *Scoto*, of thin light serge. Although it is nowadays customary with some families to put on as little mourning as possible and to shorten its period, a full mourning dress is worn by others for two full years after the death of parents. The simplest style of mourning, a black necktie and a crape arm band, is in general use after the death of a distant relative.

765 Family mourning is generally observed as follows:—
178 I. Closure of business premises, a mourning notice being affixed to the door.
[562] II. Women keep indoors for a few weeks, only going out in

[1] G. Pitrè, *Spettacoli e Feste Popolari*, vol. xii. p. 407.

6:Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

175 the Royal Commissioners reported (B/184) that "The principal
288 manufacture of the casals[28] is spinning with the spinning-wheel, or sometimes with the spindle. Second to this is the weaving of canvas, cotton and cloth used for clothing by the country people, and the necessary preparatory work, such as winding, beating the cotton, etc." But the
175 178 288 industry was then much weaker than it had been two generations before and as it retreated during the nineteenth century no ready replacement was forthcoming from
[462] within agriculture itself. The farmer had to rely on other crops while, socially, the change affected the family as a working unit for cotton processing had been
175 178 288 largely the work of women. Even in 1839 a considerable amount of blame for the prevailing low living standards
735 511 could be attached to the decline of cotton. The Commissioners reported that the prevalent poverty had become worse since 1814 on account of the shortage of work and that unemployment was worst of all in the rural districts, the cotton areas, where the small wages not only precluded saving but also led to begging and stealing which was "One of the worst consequences of the prevalent poverty and at the same time a most active cause of it" (B/184).

Poverty, wages, sanitation and disease gave rise to much concern and investigation in the middle decades of the nineteenth century - especially in so far as the conditions of the labouring and rural classes were concerned. The Royal Commissioners' report in 1838-9 (B/184); Midge in 1840 (B/516); the Census two years later and those made in 1851 and at ten-year intervals thereafter (B/166,167); reports on sanitary conditions in 1867 and 1874 (B/223,226); on distress in 1824 and 1867-68 (B/205,207); on mortality in 1874-75 (B/225, et seq); and on cholera in 1865 (B/224), all threw light on the poor living standards of the Maltese. However the 1874-75 report on mortality did hasten to qualify its observations with
[262] "Poverty, indeed, at present, is not generally so great as it was in former times (about 40 years ago), when the bulk of the lower classes, especially in the country districts, lived constantly on barley bread of the worst description" while "It must also be admitted that the sanitary condition of these Islands, generally, is not so bad as that of other countries, and that, of late years, it has improved..." (B/225, p.7).

175 511 [369] [464] [458] The basic conclusion to emerge from this evidence is that there existed a considerable gulf in general living standards between the people of the towns and those of the country. There was also an important contrast within the then rapidly expanding Victoria area,

175 722 511 454 During the war years the farmer had been able to strengthen his financial position to an unprecendented extent. The high prices which he could command left him with a large reserve upon which to draw during the decade after 1945. Today these reserves are dwindling and disappearing. In part they have been put towards capital improvements on the farm - notably the acquisition of cows and machinery (Section 2), and in part they have been spent [369] on routine home and family maintainance. The farmer in post-War Malta and Gozo has been struggling to live up to 'Urban' standards, to many of which he was introduced as a [426] result of the War. He has, in many cases, been living above his means to the extent of being perpetually in debt. He has somehow failed to adapt himself to his new position and still looks back nostaligically, at least from the financial point of view, to his commanding position during the siege.

434 511 171 [369] Today the farmer's standard of living compares unfavourably with that of the Urban working classes but is notably higher than that of other farming communities in nearby Mediterranean countries. In rural Greece, for example, annual earnings frequently do not exceed £25, although the average per capita income for the whole country is over £60[29]. Yet prices for simple clothing and other essential items are often quite exorbitant, especially for the impoverished Greek farmer. A 1954 survey of seventy Libyan farms in the Zawia area of northern Tripolitania found an average 'farm earnings' of £136 per annum[30], but the present rate for casual farm labour in the area is some 5/- per day only (about £75 per annum) and even less in more rural districts[31].

Thus in Libya a field-labourer may expect to earn little more than half the income of a land-holding farmer. [434] In Malta, however, the situation appears reversed, and the labourer without field commitments of his own can demand his 25/- for an eight-hour day and emerge, in many cases, markedly better off than the farmer who hired him and who stands the loss on unsold, unprofitable or damaged crops.

511 434 Within his own country the Maltese farmer has, on average, a standard of life still slightly below the general level, although the disparity is by no means as great as it was in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Above-average exceptions include those farmers who have been able to profit from the present regime of guaranteed milk sales by building up a large herd, or those who can still draw upon war-time savings or other accumulated reserves.

735 434 The C.A.R.E.[27] assessment of poverty made for the purpose of free food distributions to poor and needy

747 648

735 747 434 648 families provides a most useful basis for a comparison. The assessment included a scale of income and other wealth and assets against family size. Thus a household of four persons, in 1958, with a total income below £5 per week or a family of 16 receiving less than £6.6s would qualify for the free food[32].

162 735 434 The 6568 'poor and needy' families entitled on the above basis to receive C.A.R.E. supplies[33] were classified by place of residence (February, 1958)[34]. Households in which the breadwinner was a farmer or farm-labourer were, in addition, also listed separately. The residential divisions used were those demarcated in Section 1 on the basis of the farming (i.e. rural) element in the working population (Map 2).

TABLE 2

	A	B	C	D	E
DISTRICT	POPULATION[35]	'Poor & Needy' as % Population	FARMERS[36]	'Poor & Needy' Farmers as % Farmers	B/D
Urban Area	134,389	5.9	224	4.4	1.34
Fringe	83,898	8.8	1150	5.4	1.59
Inner Rural	41,955	9.4	1513	5.8	1.62
Rural	48,476	10.6	3404	9.1	1.16
Outer Rural	10,892	14.5	1522	21.8	0.67
Total	319,620	8.2	7813	8	0.9:

369 735 511 162 The figures in B and D illustrate the declining living standards with distance from the Urban Area. Since, as has been observed in Section 1, the rural community in Malta and Gozo is based primarily on farming they therefore reflect the lower living standards towards the agricultural parts of Malta and, particularly, of Gozo. D and E show that the farmers in the Inner Rural and Fringe zones tend to be less poor than those in other districts, though in the Rural Zone they are nearer the general level (E). In the Outer Rural zone (most of Gozo, and Mgarr in Malta), however, the farmer is patently very much poorer (D) even than the general average for the zone (B) which is by definition the most dependent on agriculture. As a class, the farmers in this zone are one third below the general level as far as their standard of living is concerned (cf. the 0.67 under E).

The figures for the Urban Area reveal that although only 4.4% of these 224 farmers are poor enough to qualify for C.A.R.E. help (the lowest percentage under D) they are nearer the general level (B) than is the case in either the Fringe or the Inner Rural zones. The difficult position of these 'urban' farmers is exemplified by Case V.

The over-all averages show that the farmers, of whom 9% were 'poor' by the C.A.R.E. definition, in 1958, are, as a class, slightly poorer than the 8.2% average for the whole population.

This pattern of comparatively low living standards in rural-agricultural Malta and Gozo is the essence of the problem with which this Section has been concerned. While farming and inferior standards of life remain synonomous in the Islands the younger generation of the rural community will not be content to remain on the land.

SECTION 4 : The Farmer's Outlook and Attitudes.

The importance of the past in understanding the present in Maltese agriculture has been emphasized. The change from peasant to commercial farming has been considered from its technical (Section 2) and its economic aspects (Section 3). The social background to this change is, however, no less important, particularly in so far as it relates to the work, thought and attitudes of a farmer who in fact is often little removed from the traditional when one penetrates a veneer of commercial profit-farming. Both among the literate and illiterate sections of the farming community this question of attitudes and outlook is of fundamental importance in any efforts towards improvements in Maltese agriculture.

The social environment of the Maltese countryman may be seen as three concentric circles, the family, village, and Malta. To the Gozitan who has never crossed the sea to Malta and to the old farmer who knows little of Valletta the concept of 'Malta' is something large and indeterminate. Even for the majority of the rural population, for whom Valletta and the towns are becoming a familiar part of experience, the Islands are large enough for them to feel none of the claustrophobia of which visitors to Malta complain. The 'National' unit is big enough for the farmer to speak of "Il-Gvern" - the Government of which he has heard frequently though imprecisely on all sides and on which he blames many of his economic and social problems. In this important concept of 'Gvern' no very clear distinction is made between the local Maltese authorities and the Imperial side of the Dyarchy[37]. Neither is allegiance to political parties very significant for personality is more important than party. Historically, this attitude to a remote 'Gvern' probably descends from the tradition of rule in the Islands which has included foreign British government since 1800 and the paternal but rigid hold of the Knights of St. John during their previous two and a half centuries in the Islands.

28. i.e. the villages.

29. C.A.R.E.[27] Publicity Department Statement, 1957.

30. "Report to the Government of Libya on Indigenous and Italian Farm Enterprises in the Zavia Area". FAO Report No.259, Rome 1954, p.80.

31. Personal communication from Mr. R.W. Hill, Dept. of Geography, Durham Colleges.

32. C.A.R.E.[27] scale of income (as in the Second Distribution, 1957-58, revized):

Family of 3 or 4 persons	....	maximum income	-	£5
" " 5 to 7 "	....	" "	-	£5 8s
" " 8 " 10 "	....	" "	-	£5 15s
" " 11 " 13 "	....	" "	-	£6 1s
" " 14 " 16 "	....	" "	-	£6 6s
" " 17 or 18 "	....	" "	-	£6 10s

33. In addition to the 'General Poor and Needy' category here considered C.A.R.E.[27] supplies went (March, 1958) automatically to 15,181 Old Age Pensioners and to 8,321 individuals on Social Service Assistance.

34. Permission for the writer to make this analysis and much other valuable help was given by Mr. J. Boissevain, Chief of C.A.R.E. Mission in Malta at that time (7 Feb. 1958).

35. (B/168, pp.38-40).

36. i.e. Full-time farmers (B/164 - 1957, pp.20-21), excluding 679 farmers who rendered no census return.

37. Since April, 1958, the Islands have been without a locally elected Government (December, 1959).

38. "Labour Government's Progress Report. 1956-57", Malta, Central Office of Information, 1957, v.p.37.

39. J. McClemont in lecture "Aims and Objects of the Dairy Training Course (1957) and the Functions of an Advisory Service", Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, 1957, unpub.

40. "Ghalf Bilanćjat ghall-Majjali" by A.T. Heesler, Chief Agricultural Advisory Officer, 1957, Malta.

41. R.G. Bonnici Enriquez in lecture "The Dairy Industry in the Islands of Malta and Gozo", Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, 1957, unpub.

42. v. Appendix 1 C and 1 D for details of the present trading position.

43. Both Unions were first officially registered in 1948 but these registrations lapsed. The Ghaqda Nazzjonali tal-Bdiewa (1976 members in 1956) was re-registered in 1956 with only 494 members (Dept. of Labour and Social Welfare).

44. Information on the Co-Operative Movement was kindly provided by Mr. Farrugia.

45. Information on Unions, Co-operatives and the Malta Milk Company (K.M.M.) as at Easter, 1958.

46. That is excluding the Farmers' Central Co-operative.

47. The Summaries were compiled by Mr. H. Bowen-Jones and Mr. J.C. Dewdney of the Department of Geography, Durham Colleges, from the field material amassed by Mr. P.K. Mitchell and the writer.

48. As the information on which these Studies are based was given in confidence identities have been purposely obscured.

49. i.e. Tmien, Sighan and Kejliet : v. Appendix 5.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

galleys come sailing across the square, on wires stretched over the people's heads, towards the fort, they open fire in great style. One after the other they meet their fate, for the fort peppers them cruelly and finally sets them on fire, so that soon—hulls, sails, masts, yards, crescent flags, and all the warlike things about them are in few seconds wrapped in flames and destroyed. 527 541

Before leaving the description of the celebration of this National *fète* at Vittoriosa, I wish to mention that hundreds of loaves are distributed to the needy of that town on the morning of the feast. 527 735

Worth mentioning is the custom which prevails, on the 7th of Sept. among the women residing at Rabato (Notabile) and in the country surrounding it. These, to celebrate the com- 184 527 533

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

It is also the custom in Malta to commemorate all Souls' day by distributing relief among the poor and needy. Collections are made for the purpose of purchasing bread and providing dinner for the poor in the lower quarters of the towns and populous centres.

A walk at about 11 a.m., on the 2nd of November, as far as the square in front of the Capuchins' Convent at Vittoriosa or at Floriana, or to some other place where the relief is distributed, affords not a little delight.

About a hundred poor old men and women, some of whom either half crippled or blind are to be seen struggling towards the big boiler in which the dinner is being cooked, with something in the shape of a pot in their hands, each and every one eager to get his or her share of the nicely cooked dinner.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

When these poor creatures get their share, they go gladly back to some corner to eat what has been procured for them by the contributions received from the charitably disposed.

Before leaving the description of the celebration of All Souls' Day, it would be interesting also to mention another custom which prevails in the Island on the 2nd of November.

On this day most of the charnel-houses are thrown open and lighted up with scores of oil lamps and decked out with flowers, while crowds throng the vaults to visit the bones of their friends and relatives.

The most crowded of these vaults, however, used to be that below the Capuchin church and Convent at Flo-

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

at the wrong season and so set right his error. The blessing is accompanied by the burning of leaves of the wild olive which have been blessed in Holy Week. Blessing, accompanied by sacred "fumigation," is very widely used—by fishermen to ensure a good catch, by newly married folk to ensure a happy house. 771 782 [226] [585]

GETTING MARRIED

Zeppu and Grez will think long and seriously before they get married. In an island where poverty is the rule rather than the exception, and there is no "dole," there can be no haphazard mating. Zeppu will wait until he has a sufficient competence and Grez will contribute her share of the common resources in the form of a "dot" which she, herself, has earned and saved. Until very recently all marriages were arranged by a professional "go-between"—an old woman wise in the ways of the world and in suitable matings. Even now there is little choice left to the girl. 584 [735]

In this matter of marriage, so hedged about with Christian law and custom, the Old Things still command a place. Their hands are perhaps more apparent than in the marriage customs of all other countries—themselves pagan enough in origin. 584 824

In the story which has been quoted the month of February is praised, amongst other reasons, because it is then that the "small-leaved basil" is tended and watered. The reference might be rendered "In the Spring a young man's fancy . . ." for the sweet basil is the sign and symbol that a marriageable girl awaits a suitor.

The small bush, either of basil or of the Madonna rose, is carefully tended and placed on the sill of an upper window. A well-grown plant is an indication that the maiden will make a good wife and mother. [787]

A suitor, seeing the "marriage bush" at an upper window,